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103 There are names for every section of land, reef, and beach on the atoll, indicating the close association of the Pukapukan with his environment. The most important place names are marked on the accompanying maps (fig.1,*a*,*b*).

Climate

132 Records for the years 1930-35 (21) show that the mean temperature ranges between 80.9 and 83.9 degrees F., maximum temperature between 86.8 and 92, minimum temperature between 67 and 75 degrees. The average maximum absolute temperature throughout the year is 92.2 degrees and the average minimum absolute temperature is 67.4 degrees. Both minimum and maximum temperatures vary but slightly from month to month throughout the year, and the climate in this respect is equable.

For the period of record, the annual rainfall varies between 113 and 156 inches with an average of 128.41 inches. The season of heaviest rainfall is October to March, but heavy rains are recorded for April and May (1932, 132 1934), May and June (1931). In January 1935, after three days of continuous rain, 10 inches of rain fell in the next 24 hours. The amount and 244 distribution of rainfall are important in the cultivation of swamp talo. A heavy rain floods the talo beds. After a heavy rain, the most desired weather is shady, cloudy skies, for if the rain is followed by brilliant sunshine for several days the submerged talo swamps may be heated to such a temperature before the water drains into the ground that the talo is killed. During the dry months, May to September, the rainfall is generally insufficient to bring talo to maturity. In bad years, the talo swamps may dry up altogether and most of the tubers die. It then requires from 6 to 12 months before the 132 new tubers are mature enough for food. Conditions brought about by scanty 731 rainfall must often in Pukapukan history have approached a state of virtual famine. The diet on such occasions as these would be fish and nuts exclusively. 262 With each adult on the island consuming from 7 to 10 nuts daily, and children proportionately fewer, the available supply of eating nuts must soon get very low.

132 Records for the year 1932 indicate prevailing winds from west through northeast blowing for 115 days in the year, from east through southwest for 226 days in the year. From May to October the prevailing winds (the trades) come from the east and southeast, and from November to April from the north and northwest. The northerly winds are much more variable than the trade winds, and the period from November to April is a time of storms, heavy winds, gales, and electrical disturbances. Pukapuka is just out- 731 side the regular hurricane belt, but there are records of severe visitations. A "tidal wave", probably accompanying a hurricane, which devastated the island about 300 years ago is mentioned in traditional history (p. 386). The

1. [See p. 18, category 116 — analyst.]

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625 562 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 561 226 Six watch houses (*vale palenga*) are scattered through the reserve of Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taha*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Niua at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 241 262 The monthly guard change (*te singa pule*) is accompanied by a division of food from the reserves among the people of the village.

In Loto a division of drinking and mature nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Niua and Uta. The change of guard in Niua on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 245 294 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*loui*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the breaking of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief 694

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not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kupolu, and in the story of the *tule pae* (pp. 387, 395).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadillos. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*ui lulu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ui lulu* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Mataliki. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Vaitase, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Mataliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te mali uvuna*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matakiate, lived on the eastern side, *te mata uvuna*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midriba, *kotomo* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua ui*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

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these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane* and *wahowowine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*kaasa*) of indeterminate

[591] 423 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kauru* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *una*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 422 226 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *iho ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *iho ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than today. A tapu (*lauí*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes, especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata waivo*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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245 In husking (*yoka*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*paunga*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*mukomuko*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*yaekili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoka molemole*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoka ma te kayani*). A thin length of [482] fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*kayani*) by these fibers, making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of coconut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*amo*) them from the bush to the home.

245 A heap of *yakali* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *putunga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

264 The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*take*) with a coconut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *kalokalo* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*mulimuli*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*wowo*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*wakamotuka*) with a scraper (*kalokalo*).

TALO

244 The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka:
137 *mawolawola, wakawotu, wakena, kele, pongi* (slow-growing species), *pelewa,*
177 *talaki, kalelea, newunewu* (slow-growing species), *kula, kiekie, uli, koyikoyi.* All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Bora-bora), talo Niue, and so on.

244 The origin of talo and *pulaka* in the world is recounted in the story of
773 Maui (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalization perhaps
214 of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow
423 one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

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244 two beds well demarcated. When the talo grows, however, the two varieties
423 are often so intermixed that the boundary is unclear. A single talo bed may be planted with one variety or with several varieties planted in sections running crosswise over the bed.

244 Any and all of the varieties are used indifferently in preparing the talo dishes. All are considered equally fertile. The only reason for planting
262 one variety rather than another is to get the benefit of the slight differences in taste and flavor between varieties.

244 Native terminology for talo and *pulaka* is:

Pulaka: the whole plant.
192 Talo: the whole plant.
Wawa: old name of the talo corm; wawa is used interchangeably today with talo for both plant and corm.
Kau a pulaka, kau a talo: the petiole.
Tingapula: the cutting, top section sliced off the mature corm with petioles and leaves.
Lau talo: talo leaf.
Laumea: pulaka leaf.
Lito: delicate young leaves protruding from the base of the innermost talo leaf.
Pikopiko: the lateral cormlet or sucker produced at the side of the corm and bearing a crown of leaves.
Aka: root.
Wuluwulu: rootlets of the corm.
Palapala: swampy mud in which the plants are grown.
Ui talo, ui pulaka: bed or garden.
Wua: talo bed of a single man, woman, or child in communally owned talo land.

There is no elaborate garden magic in the planting and cultivation of talo. New moon planting was favored to produce plenty of talo with large and good-flavored corms. Full moon planting was also good, but after a few replantings the corms tended to grow smaller. Formerly a bed was stripped (*wowoi*) and replanted at the new moon, but a few tubers were removed (*matawya*) from a field at any time.

The complete process of going to the garden, harvesting, planting, and bringing home talo is termed *tope nuwa*.

244 When a woman or girl goes to the talo bed, she takes with her a coconut-leaf
782 basket (*kete lauuia*); formerly also, a turtle-bone cutting implement (*tabu*). She rec-
ognizes the mature (*kiai*) corm by the yellowing and curling up of the leaves. She
412 pulls out (*langa*) the talo plant and slices off (*tope*) the top section, tossing the corm to the embankment of the bed. She loosens the soil from which the plant was pulled, digging it up (*toki*) with a stick (*koyo ui*). She slices most of the leaves from the petiole, usually leaving one leaf, and sets the cutting back in the ground. She tramps the soil around the slip to make it firm, planting in rows, not in hills. She throws the leaves stripped from the petioles back on the ground and tramps them into the soil. She repeats the process until she has sufficient tubers. When a whole bed is being stripped by two workers, one pulls the corm and throws it to the side; the other cuts the top section from the corm and throws it back to the harvester, who replants it. In former days after harvesting sufficient talo, the worker set aside from 4 to 10 corms for the gods of the garden, saying, "Matalolau e, Matalomea e, here is your share of talo to help increase the yield of my garden." Then the cuttings from these corms were

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replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*tuku ki lunga o te ulu*).

There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

Cultivation further consists in weeding (*langai i te vayavaya ui*) and fertilizing (*wakalepo* or *tilikao*) the talo beds:

> The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are tramped into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pukoma* leaves, *lau kotowa* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*polapola*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pukoma* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Some is tramped in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pukoma* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

In the old days a little dryland talo (*kape*) was cultivated. Killed by the tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *pulaka* are recognized:

Toki te tingapuka: the cutting is planted.
Po lua, kua tupu te aka o te wawa: 2d day, the roots grow.
Po tolu, kua velo te lito: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Po lima, kua loa te lito o te kau: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Po angaulu, kua velo te lito woa: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Taeyao atu, kua kau lua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Kua velo mai te tolu o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
Kua kau tolu: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Kua kau wa: (22d day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
Kua kau lima: (23d day) there are five petioles growing.
Kua wakalaungavali: (24th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Kua toaki te kau lima, kua uyi, kua tupu mai oki te lau kaua, kua ono lau talo, kua ola: (30th day) petioles spread and darken in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
Kua uouto ki lunga: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
Kua ola loa ki lunga: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Kua tuku te ulu: (2d month) the head is left, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Kua tuinga te wawa: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Olo ki te vavanga o te wawa: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Kua kivi, kua wawolo: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.

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244 The sizes of the talo tubers are: *piki* (small corms), *vavenga* (slightly larger corms), *vaivai waiva* (still larger corms), *ulupoko* (very big corms), and *puniu* (enormous ones, as big as *pulaka* corms and no longer good for eating).

A good commentary on the cultivation of talo is found in the first section of the chant, "Maka te kupu ki te tonoanga", in praise of a woman's skill at talo growing (1).

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Gifts

433 Much of the produce of labor is used for immediate consumption by the worker and his household. The talo harvested by the women of the 571 household, the mats they plait, the fish and nuts produced by the men, the 431 house that is built by a man, are all consumed by the household group. Some of the wealth of the household—whether food or more durable articles such as pearl-shell fishhooks and ornaments—is distributed through the gift exchange or as payment to workers who are producing other objects of value for the household. Another part of this wealth is distributed through the feasts that mark crises in the lives of the individual members of the group.

Most gifts require a reciprocal gift of equivalent value. When members of one household have more than they can immediately consume they give staple articles such as food, fish, talo and nuts to relatives and friends, but only on the assumption that everyone in the community is following the same social principle and that the gift will be reciprocated at some later 431 occasion when the recipients are well provided with food. One widow and her young children are frequently given gifts of food, fish especially, by relatives and neighbors without, I think, any feeling that the widow should or could reciprocate. The villagers are sorry for her plight and give [574] out of pity and neighborly feelings. Gifts to transient visitors on the island are made freely and without thought of return; the tradition of hospitality requires the expression of friendship through the making of gifts. Gifts to more permanent visitors are made within terms of the implicit system of gift exchange, but insofar as the givers are many and the recipients are few, the return gift is not expected to equal the value of the first gift. The return gift in this case merely symbolizes the completion of the transaction, and honor is satisfied on both sides.

Various types of gifts are named according to the way they enter into the system of exchange:

431 The word *tauapalae* is applied to a family heirloom, a pearl-shell ornament for 195 instance, an appropriate gift to a living person. *Tauapalae* is also a gift of remembrance when two friends part from each other. Such a gift is referred to metaphori-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

224 The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*)
244 was caught with the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably
266 not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ya*), pun-
784 ishable by the goddess Taua (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

264 No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipüpi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

264 The words *kai, taumamaya, yamuyamu, lamulamu* apply to eating, whether
574 by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of
431 an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

264 Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open
576 ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children all sit on coconut-leaf (*takapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*nukalavalava*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yongia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 412 Various implements are used in the harvesting and preparation of talo. The worker in the talo gardens formerly sliced the petioles from the corms with a cutting implement (*taku*, C8096, C8097) made from the backbone of the turtle. This knife was also in general use as a cutting implement as was a knife (*pala*, C8145) made of the jawbone and attached teeth of the *pala* fish (*kauvae pala*). No spade was used for replanting talo; if the ground was hard it was first loosened with a short, straight digging stick (*koyo*).

252 412 Talo is prepared for cooking by scraping the dirt from the corm. A scraping peg (*tukituki tete uuva*, C8083) is made from a section of coconut midrib (*palelauu*) about 17 inches long. The proximal end of the peg is rested on the ground and the distal end placed against a half coconut shell or piece of wood of suitable height 6 inches from the distal point. The worker holds the proximal end of the peg tight by resting her left knee on it. She holds the corm with the left hand at the distal point of the peg and scrapes (*tete*) the corm downward and toward the body with a scraper (*kai*). The *kai* (C8084) is the bottom portion of a small, discarded dry coconut shell. Part of the outer edge circumference is cut away to form a short cutting edge.

After the scraping, the talo may be sliced (*tele*) into sections with the *kai* scraper, cooked whole, or grated on a stone grater (*matu ola uuva*). A typical grater (C8053) is a block of coral (*punga talatala*) with a rough surface. The block weighs 8 pounds, is 15½ inches long, averages 6½ inches wide, and is 3 inches thick. The worker sits before the stone and rubs the corms under pressure up and down the surface of the stone.

An oven spreader used for spreading (*tolo*) the hot stones of the oven is a section of the butt end of a coconut midrib (*palelauu*). Oven tongs (*pingai* or *uangai*, C8191) are made of a piece of coconut midrib, 18 inches or more long. The leaflets are trimmed from the side edges and the midrib doubled so that the outer fibers snap while the inner ones remain to form a sort of hinge. The tongs are green when first made but dry quickly and become brown. Tongs are in constant use for shifting the hot stones of the native oven.

252 412 413 Cooked talo is pounded and mixed with coconut cream in a wooden bowl (*kumete*). A small bowl is shown in figure 13,*a*. A common type pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood is shown in figure 13,*b*. Pounders in use become polished with oil. Those seen in use ranged from 1 foot 5 inches to 1 foot 7 inches long, with 3¼ inches diameter of pounding base. A cone-shaped proximal end is common, but a few pounders have a terminal knob. A larger wooden stirrer (*yau*) also of *ngangie*, is shown in figure 13,*c*. Other bowls in use were examined in the field. They may be briefly described to

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage. As long as there was one lineage in the *tuna*, the *tuna* was exogamous. When many sub-
616 lineages developed within the *tuna*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple
[582] sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups, so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan
171 society.

The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests,
613 and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties (each called for this purpose *wakatai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by
226 a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the
378 men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group, petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns, represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of importance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, princi-
423 pally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is
244 no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course, the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial
672 actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man
696 commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be
681 punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered. That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relationship ties based on maternal descent.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*lavi*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*tuakaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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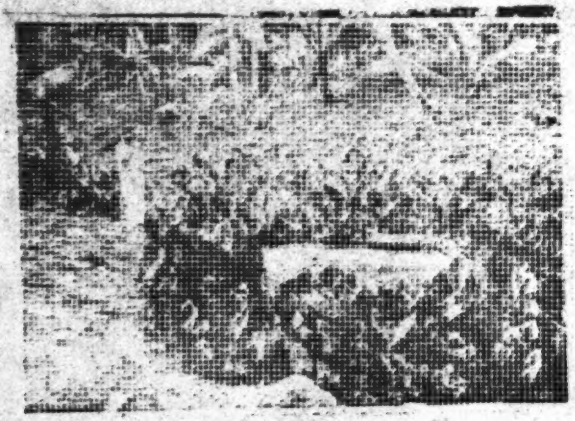

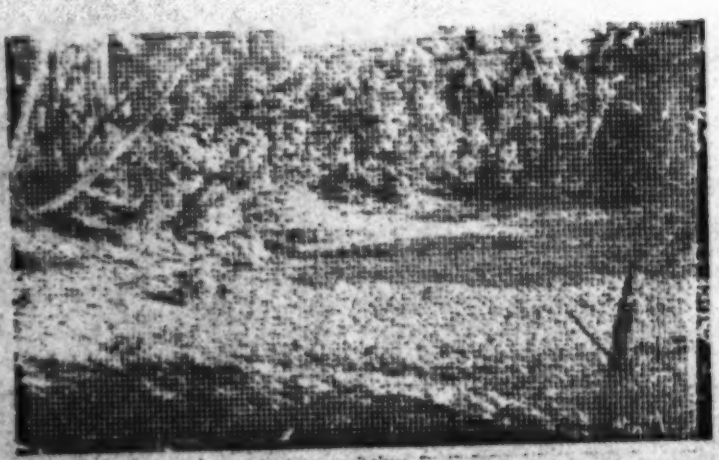

TALO GARDENS. *A*, SMALL INDIVIDUAL TALO GARDEN WITH EXCAVATION SUNK WELL BELOW THE SURROUNDING SURFACE OF THE LAND. *B*, LARGE VILLAGE-CONTROLLED TALO GARDEN IN THE RESERVE OF UTA: THE GARDEN IS REDIVIDED INTO INDIVIDUALLY CULTIVATED, SMALLER SECTIONS: EMBANKMENT AT THE LEFT IS FORMED PARTLY BY EXCAVATION AND PARTLY BY HEAPING EXCAVATED SOIL INTO A RIDGE WHICH SERVES AS A BOUNDARY BETWEEN THIS AND THE ADJOINING GARDENS.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
244, 245

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for taro cultivation and responsibility for making copra, see p. 13.]

2 Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

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A

B

PLATE 2.—Taro patches: *A*, individual taro patch in an excavation sunk below the general surface of the island; *B*, taro pit in communal garden of Te Motu; embankment formed partly by excavation and partly by heaping the excavated soil into a ridge.

539 Chant from a Yato Man to a Woman of Ngake (1)

Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga	Chant my chant to the distant clearings
Te wawine vave na yia ko te maonioni,	The strong woman is pleased and industrious,
E tuki to koyo, ngalepe te papa o te wenua,	Thrust down your digging stick, broken the level surface of the land,
Napea ki lunga ko te palapala.	Thrown up the mud of the taro garden.
Na mawiti te tuna, kakao ko te liu o Taua,	The eel is started, ascends from Taua's depths, (2)
Wakaoi ake na teletele, tuki ake te puna lalo wenua,	The soft earth is stirred, the subsoil water seeps up,
Poki wainga ia ke ola, taki kau tolu, koa velo ake to kaua,	Successful your planting, triple taro petioles appeared, the main stalk shot upward,
Tilikao ina ko te lau puka	Fertilized with leaves of the puka
Wotuwotu te peleua, utouto te talo kena,	The peleua taro matured, the white taro grew high,
E toaki te kele kula, e ula te ulu pepe ki lalo,	Leaves of the red taro spread, the lower leaves reddened,
Wakatu te piki kivingaleka e wawai ko tau matauyu,	The shoots stood firmly, you pulled the first rows,
E wakia ngalepe te ulukau, e kotia ngalepe te kaua,	Tore off the young leaves, cut and broke off the stalk,
E topetopea ona piki, ona vaivai talo,	Cut off the shoots and little tubers,
E ulaulaki koa amoamo lalava, ko na matawale,	Carried your tuber-loaded basket to the house fronts,

1. This is a love chant composed by a man, Pania of Yato village, for Ulutapu a woman of Ngake. It is a good example of a long love chant with characteristically lon and involved symbolisms and metaphors. It was composed during the time of Tuiva's regency.

[244] [776] 2. Successive lines give an excellent account of taro cultivation. The strong woman digs so deep in the tar gardens that she stirs up the lurking eel which is the agent and messenger of the goddess Taua. Another appearance of the eel is recorded in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 81-82, category 116--analyst].

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Te yikuanga i Yamanaia
Te yikuanga i Wanganui
Te yikuanga i Te Awanga o Kui

three small yikuanga, on kawa belonging to po Yangalipule

Te yikuanga i Matanamu
Te yikuanga i tai o te papa

two divisions near the present church and school, on kawa of po i Tua.

Te yikuanga i Te Au
Te yikuanga i Te Limatini
Te yikuanga i Walepia

three divisions between the school house and the causeway on the kawa of the Yato po.

Te yikuanga la ngauta
Te yikuanga la tai

the names for former divisions of the motu of Niua in the western extension of Yato.

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The main divisions of the talo ui on Motu Ko which are owned by the people of Ngake:

te ui aeleake
te ui matautu
te ui a tupele
te ui o te ulu wutu, which is in two named sections, te ui yuyu, and te ui vawai
te ui o te tua welo, named after the welo tree that grows nearby
te ui o te maungatu
te ui yikutakala
te ui te yulu
te ui tawa
te ui i te ala o kaiyue
te ui o te vai matua
te ui tua yulu
te ui o kamuli
te ui o te ulu niu o vaia
te ui o te tokalua.

The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Niua which are communally owned by Loto:

Mali welo
Malo pala
Lalotai inu
Lahi we

These are also the names of the land divisions in Niua.

103 621 244 The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Uta which are communally owned by Loto:

Lua utu (2 beds of this name)
Mawela
Kai lula
Te welo
Lua welenga loa (2 beds of this name)
Te puapua
Te ui i tua
Pawatu
Punalei

These are also the names of the land divisions in the motu of Uta.

103 613 244 The following are the twenty-three talo gardens (ui) on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages:

Yalo ui, belongs to the wakavae (constituent paternal lineage)
Alo of po Muliwutu

Akava ui, } belong to the wakavae, Wakamoe ki te loto
Wailepu ui, } of the po Matanga

Taumalanga ui, belongs to the po Yamaunga. Taumalanga was a child of Yamaunga po who fell into a swamp and was drowned. The po declared this swamp tapu, later built a talo bed on it, and made Taumalanga an atua tangata (see Religion)

Atula ui, one half of of this ui belongs to the kainanga Kava of the larger wua, Mango; the other half is controlled by a sublineage of Kava called Pikula

Atio ui, belongs to the kainanga Yeitae and the sublineage Pikula

Te leiloa ui, belongs to kainanga Kiole

Te ui ngauta, divided into three sections.
1. Te lakau, belongs to kainanga Yelu
2. Palaka, belongs to wua Mango
3. Nanguta, belongs to wua Kati.

Wanua eke ui, has two unnamed sections
1. belongs to po i Tua of Loto
2. belongs to wua Mango

Te ui a Uta, belongs to po i Tua

Te ui Palea, has three unnamed sections,
1. belongs to po Yamaunga
2. belongs to po Yayi
3. belongs to po Yalongo.

Ui vai tiale has two sections, 1. belongs to wua Kati
2. belongs to wua Mango

Ui Matanga, belongs to wakavae Matanga of Yato

Ui Motu Kotawa, belongs to Yamaunga po (despite its name, this ui is on Wale)

Te ui a Leisi, belongs to Yalongo po

Te ui a Wale, belongs to Yalongo po

Te ui Puatu, belongs to members of keinanga Kava living in Yato

Te ui a yaukava, in three sections
1. belongs to keinanga Kava
2. belongs to keinanga Pukapuka
3. belongs to keinanga Malemu

Te ui muli alo te ui tuulangi belong to wakavae Walepia

243 244 The following are the names of individually owned talo beds on Wale (ui tangata taki tai) and their owners:

Te ui i te kulaanga tupele,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui muli awaiki,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui te vai	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui loimata	belongs to Teani of Yato
Te ui o Yako	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui a Pulenia,	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui lengatuli	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui tua	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui mana tavaka	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui tupuanga	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui aniua	belongs to Pania, Yato
Te ui tuliliai	belongs to Taiayeu, Ngake
Te ui mokelekale	belongs to Ulua, Loto
Te ui o Te Kua	belongs to Matautu, Loto
Te ui mpi	belongs to Tala, Yato
Te ui o Halelua	belongs to Kaia, Loto
Te ui takalau	belongs to Uitai, Yato
Te ui a Pikula	belongs to Pikula, Loto
Te ui o Kulupa	belongs to Kulupa, Loto
Te ui o Te Layo	belongs to Kaitui, Ngake
Te ui vailawe	belongs to Puia, Ngake
Te ui lengalonga	belongs to Nalupe, Ngake

524 177 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 888 Miscellaneous.

For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune ia.....

621 591 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

244 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamaysi were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.